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" Besides, it is to be recollected, that these foreign officers are in our army only for A LIMIT. ED TIME, whereas the Irish Catholics, if in the army, would be there for life."—MR. PERCEVAL'S speech in defence of the employing of German Troops.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

GERMAN TROOPS.—The public have seen, and, I hope, they have attended to, the recent measure of giving (or attempting to give) *permanent rank* in our army to the Officers of the German Troops. This, which is one of the greatest strides that have been made, even in the present reign, I now propose to take into consideration, and to discuss. My opinion is, that it is a measure contrary to the constitutional laws of England; and, indeed, that it is a measure, which must, of itself, become nugatory, unless a *law* be made to repeal a part of the Act of Settlement, and to sanction this new measure.—I shall, first of all, insert the instrument by which this measure has been put into life. It is as follows:

—" War Office, Aug. 18, 1812—Memo-
randum.—In consideration of the King's
German Legion having so frequently dis-
tinguished themselves against the enemy,
and particularly upon the occasion of the
recent victory obtained near Salamanca,
his Royal Highness the Prince Regent is
pleased, in the name and on the behalf of
His Majesty, to command, that the Of-
ficers who are now serving with tempo-
rary rank in the several regiments of that
corps, shall have *permanent rank in the
British army from the date of their re-
spective commissions.*—The nature of
this measure is evident: its effect will be
to make promotion slower amongst the na-
tive officers; but, this is of little conse-
quence compared to the effect in a consti-
tutional point of view.—The base hire-
ling, who conducts the Courier news-paper,
and who discovers a soul beneath that of a
subject of Algiers, seems to have thought
that this measure would not pass without
something being said upon it; and, there-
fore, he, in the same paper in which he in-
serts the instrument, thus endeavours to
stigmatize any animadversion upon it.
—" There is, perhaps, but ONE man in
the Empire, who will not regard with
pleasure the arrangement notified by

command of the Prince Regent in the
Gazette of last night, conferring perma-
nent rank in the British Army upon the
Officers of the German Legion, who have
hitherto served against the enemy with
temporary rank. The CONSTANT
and CONSPICUOUS merits of those
brave men on every occasion of their
being employed, have fully entitled them
to their rank in that army, whose
glory they have so effectually contributed
to maintain."—So that we are here to
be told, that these mercenary troops have
effectually contributed to maintain the glory
of our army; and are, indeed, given to
understand, that the recent victory was, in
a conspicuous degree, owing to the bravery
of these Germans!—I remember, that,
in the case of the capture of the "Invinci-
ble Standard" in Egypt, I was most fu-
riously assailed only because I endeavoured
to do justice, bare justice, to the foreigner
who really took that Standard, while the
honour of the act was claimed by another.
I caused proof to be given upon oath; in
short, I made it as clear as the sun, that
the Standard was not taken by the Scotch-
man, who, it was asserted, had taken it;
and that it was taken by a foreigner in our
service. For this I was most grossly
abused. I was reviled with as much acrimony
as if I had attempted to rip out the bowels
of the whole Highland Regiment (the 42d),
one of whom was said to have taken the
Standard. It was proved, that the foreigner
had taken the Standard, and, at last, a paltry
sum of 20*l.* a year was given him in the shape
of a pension. Little as the reward was, how-
ever, for so gallant an act, it was a full con-
firmation of the truth of what I had asserted.
Yet I was abused as much as ever; and, I was
even told, that if it was the truth, that circum-
stance did not alter the case; for, it was, I
was told, a sign of want of feeling for the
honour of my country, to endeavour to take
from it so fair a flower, and to convey it into
the cap of a foreigner.—How are things
changed since that time! There are, we see,
wri-

ters who now dare, nay, who are apparently proud of giving a large share, if not the greatest share, of the glory of our army to the German Troops! How are we changed since this war began! Aye, but not so much, perhaps, as we shall be *before this war be ended?*—It is true, that, the foreigner who took the "*Invincible Standard*" was a FRENCHMAN. I allow that there is so much of difference in the two cases. It was proved, that the man, who took the *Invincible Standard* from the French, was a FRENCHMAN; and it was quite ridiculous to see the faces and hear the remarks of the boasters, when this fact was *proved*; but, what is the difference in reality? It is no more a dishonour to us to have our victories won by *Frenchmen* than it is to have them won by *Germans*. One are just as much our countrymen as the other. We are no more of the High Dutch breed than we are of the French breed; and, I am quite sure, that it is less dishonour to us to be surpassed in valour by the French than by the Germans, the whole of whom have been so recently beaten and pummelled and conquered by those same French. I do not wish to hear it said, or insinuated, that *any* foreigners surpass in valour our native troops; I do not wish to see the glory of our army attributed to any body but natives; but, if such is to be the case, I must confess that I should feel less shame at seeing the glory carried off by the French who are in our service, than by Germans, let them come from what part of Germany they will; because all the Germans have recently been beaten by the French, and have, indeed, been conquered by them, and, particularly in Hanover, without any attempt to resist.—But, to proceed, the slave of the Courier was mistaken in his calculations; for there were more than "*one man*" in the kingdom, to disapprove of this measure. He did *me* the honour to make sure that it would not escape *my* animadversion; but, he does not seem to have anticipated any such thing on the part of the Morning Chronicle. Mr. Perry, however, could not so far sacrifice to party as to suffer this to pass unnoticed; and, accordingly, in his paper of the 27th of August, he published the following article:—"We cannot avoid *expressing our regret* that the services of the German troops in the memorable battle of Salamanca, were not *rewarded in some other way* than by incorporating all the officers with the British, and giving them permanent rank in our army. This is a species of reward

which operates to the serious injury of the officers of the British army, because it places, by a simple paragraph in the Gazette, *twelve hundred foreign officers above several thousands of British in rank*, and consequently bars them to that extent from promotion.—British officers would have rejoiced in the most honourable mark of distinction being conferred on each individual of the German Legion who signalized himself on that day. But to take them all in the lump and put them on permanent rank, by which many of them, *with only two or three years of service, will get the rank of Colonel, over the heads of gallant Englishmen who have served many years* (and who have bought their commissions as well as served) does seem to us an ungracious course towards the native army of rewarding the Germans.—We are far from questioning their merits; but at the same time let it not be forgotten, that *one single English regiment on that day lost more officers and men than the whole German Legion put together.*—It is, however, in a constitutional point of view that this is objectionable, since by a summary sweep *the German Legion is naturalized.* From a thousand to twelve hundred foreign officers are incorporated with our own, and thus the nationality of our army is affected. These gentlemen will have to mix with British officers in every regiment (be in the way of Englishmen on every vacancy), and, *without the same standing, will be before thousands of our own gallant countrymen in the road to promotion.*—This is called a new æra in our history! It is, indeed, a new æra, when, by a stroke of the pen, *such a body of Germans can be made English!* What Cassius observes of the old Romans not bearing a Cæsar, may well be applied to the ancient Britons not bearing a German army within the island. Every one has lamented the preferences that have been lately shewn to the whiskered Barons in our own Hussar regiments; but now, as we shall have so many foreign candidates for commissions in all our regiments, the prepossession in their favour will be a source of severe mortification to our own countrymen. We are sure, that if Parliament had been sitting, the measure would not have passed *without remonstrance.*—The slave of the Courier seems to have been very vigilant and sharp-sighted upon this occasion; for, in his paper of the evening

of the *same day*, he replies in these words :

—“ The Opposition express their “ regret that the services of the German “ troops in the memorable battle of Salamanca, were not rewarded in some other “ way than by incorporating all the officers “ with the British, and giving them permanent rank in the army.” That the “ Opposition feel regret we do not doubt ; “ it is perfectly natural to them. But may “ it be permitted to us who have a different “ feeling, to ask in what *other way the officers could be rewarded* than by attaching them permanently to a service for which they had fought and bled ? Had this honour been conferred upon them in the outset, before they had been tried and proved, there might have been cause of complaint. But the German troops have been from the beginning employed in the most active and severe service, and their steadiness and valour have been *conspicuous in every battle*. Were we at the end of the war to say to them, “ your rank was only temporary, and as your services are at an end, your rank is at an end also ? *Bon Soir*.” If this is the scale and system of recompence which the Opposition would have acted upon, we have more and more occasion to rejoice that they are not in power ; but we do assure them, they will find themselves mistaken, if they think that they can sow jealousy or ill will between the Officers of the British army and the Officers of the German troops. They have fought in the same cause, and the *manliness and liberality* of the former will never repine at any distinction that may be conferred upon the valour, good conduct, and loyalty of the latter.”

As to whether the English *Officers* will *repine*, upon this occasion, or not, I pretend not to know. What feelings they may have I cannot tell ; nor, indeed, is that of so much importance, in my view of the matter, as are the feelings of the *people* upon the occasion.—To hear the Courier, one would really imagine, that almost the whole of the glory was won by the Germans, not only at Salamanca, but every where else. Their valour, we are told, “ has been *CONSPICUOUS in EVERY battle*.” Now, this has been said of *none* of our own *native corps*. To be sure, the Courier does but repeat, in substance, nearly what is said in the Memorandum from the Horse Guards, whereby it is proclaimed to the nation and to the world, that the Germans are to be thus rewarded, because they have frequent-

ly *distinguished* themselves against the enemy ; whence it must be inferred, that they have *gone farther*, or *done more*, than our native troops in general ; for, without this they could not *DISTINGUISH* themselves. To *distinguish* oneself means to make oneself appear, to show oneself, *in a light different from those by whom one is surrounded*. To distinguish, in its most general sense, means, to show, or to point out, or to discover, the *difference* in things, or in persons ; and, when it is applied to the distinction in the actions of men, as being more or less honourable, it means, to *make known*, or to *make eminent* ; and, when applied in the reflected sense, that is to say, where the action returns upon the agent, it means, to make oneself *eminent*, to show that there is a *difference between oneself and others*. Therefore, if the German Troops have, as the Memorandum from the War-Office says they have, “ *FREQUENTLY DISTINGUISHED* “ themselves against the enemy,” they must frequently have shown a *difference between themselves and others* ; they must frequently have made themselves *eminent*, that is to say, *exalted*, amongst the rest of the army ; they must, in short, have *GONE FARTHER*, or *DONE MORE*, *than our native troops in general* ; for, if they had gone no farther, or had done no more, and had, in no respect, behaved *differently* from the army in general, they could not, with truth, be said to have *DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES*. It follows, then, that it was the opinion of the Prince Regent, that these Germans had behaved *differently* from the army in general ; and, he, of course, concluded that that *difference* was *honourable to the Germans*, because he makes their conduct, that very conduct by which they had distinguished themselves, the ground for a very great boon to their officers ; the ground, indeed, of a measure, which, if the statement of the Morning Chronicle be correct, puts many of these officers permanently over the heads of as many officers of native growth ; and which does, in fact, embody them in the English army, putting men, officers, corps, regiments, brigades, divisions, armies, and the country itself, by possibility, as far as relates to military authority, under their command !—I do not say, that the Germans have *not so distinguished* themselves : I do not say, that there has not been a *visible difference* between their conduct and that of our native officers and men in general : I do not say,

that the whole of the Germans have not shown themselves in an *eminent* or *exalted* point of view compared with the general mass of our native officers and men: I do not say, that the Germans do not merit the *distinction*: I do not say, that any corps of English or Irish or Scotch have **DISTINGUISHED** themselves so much as these Germans have distinguished themselves in a mass: I do not pretend to decide the point of fact here. The Morning Chronicle does, indeed, say, that one single English regiment lost more officers and men in the battle of Salamanca than were lost by the whole of the German Legion put together, which, I believe, is very true; but, still, it is possible, that even that regiment might not be so *meritorious* as the German Legion. It is *possible*, I say; and, as it has been officially declared and promulgated by order of the Prince Regent (in the name and behalf of our good old King), that the Germans have **DISTINGUISHED** themselves, not only in the recent battle, but on *frequent* former occasions; as this fact has been so solemnly declared by the Prince; as he has commanded the interesting fact to be published and made known to us and to all Europe, through the channel of the Gazette, I must give the fact full credence; and, I must consider it, too, as a fact well known in, and recognized by, our army.—It would, I must confess, be more grateful to my feelings to be able, with truth, to call the fact in question, and even to deny it. I do not hear without some little chagrin, that a parcel of Germans, employed in our army, have *all* so distinguished themselves as to merit particular notice. But, justice forbids me to complain, that they are praised for what has so distinguished them. The old proverb of *giving the Devil his due* I would apply to these Germans. If they have distinguished themselves in Spain and Portugal; if they have, and frequently too, shown that there is a *difference* between them and the rest of the army; if they have made themselves *eminent*, if they have *exalted* themselves, in the army; if they have gone farther, or done more, against the enemy than the corps of the army in general, and if this conduct has marked *all* the German corps, I must say, that they ought to be *particularly* noticed: distinguished merit calls for distinguished reward.—Nor, in a mere military point of view, do I quarrel with the effect of the reward that has been bestowed; if the Germans have distinguished

themselves so often; if they have shown, frequently, that there is a *difference* between them and the rest of the army, I see no reason why they should not be raised over the heads of other officers. The Morning Chronicle complains, that the measure will bar our own officers in the way of promotion. Well, and what of that? They will stand, the Morning Chronicle says, “before thousands of our own gallant countrymen in the way of promotion.” And what then? Our own “gallant countrymen” did not, surely, enter the army for “*base lucre*.” What is it to them who fill the superior ranks, so that they are filled to the advantage of the country? Our officers entered the army, of course, with the view of fighting, and losing their lives, if necessary, in defence of their beloved Sovereign and their country; and, that being the case, is it not to be presumed, that they will be pleased to see men placed over them, who have distinguished themselves in our army by their deeds against the enemy? As to the mere *pay*; the paltry pence, that the rank brings with it, they can be no object to engage the serious attention of a man who has made a sacrifice of his life, when called for, merely to preserve the English Constitution! What! A few pennies be an object of contest with those sons of glory, who bear commissions in His Majesty’s service, and who have the honour to be under the command of his gallant son! Perish the grovelling idea!—Here I think the Morning Chronicle wrong. The objection which it has taken is inconsistent with that disinterestedness and that devotion to their country, which have so often been ascribed to the officers of our army. A love of glory, such as that which may be supposed to animate their bosoms, is wholly inconsistent with the existence of a desire to possess a larger portion of Tokens or of Pennies. The love of *promotion* is out of the question; and, the Commander in Chief and the Prince Regent having perceived that the German Legion have so frequently distinguished themselves in the army; that is to say, have so frequently shown, that there is a *difference* between them and the native troops; the Commander in Chief and the Prince having discovered this and having declared it, we are not to suppose that any of our native officers will *grumble*, but, on the contrary, that they will rejoice, that persons of distinguished conduct are to have permanent rank in the army, and are, in

many cases, to be promoted above themselves.—But, it is not in this *military* point of view that I take the matter. In the military point of view I have, indeed, little to do with it. If the Germans have *distinguished* themselves; if they have shown *the difference* between themselves and those by whom they have been surrounded; if this be the case, as it is expressly stated, why, really, though an Englishman may lament that the native troops have been surpassed; though he may lament that the glory, gained by our army, and of which so much has been said and sung, belongs, in so large a portion, to foreigners, still he will be too just to want to disguise the fact. He will applaud the conduct of the Commander in Chief and the Prince Regent in proclaiming that fact to the world; but, if he duly considers the matter, he will not, nevertheless approve of this measure; *because it is a measure contrary to the constitutional laws of England*; an assertion which I shall now proceed to make good by proof.—I say, then, plainly, that the giving of these Germans permanent rank in our army is what cannot be done legally, unless a new law be passed to enable the King or Regent to do so, or, at least, unless a law be passed to enable some body to do it.—The Act of Settlement, which was passed to provide against the contingency of the House of Hanover coming to the throne of England, expressly says, that *no foreigner* shall, in case that House succeed to the throne, hold any *office or place of trust*, civil or *military*, in this kingdom. And, another act was afterwards passed, when the Hanoverian family had come to the throne, expressly providing, that in every future naturalization bill, there should be a clause prohibiting the party to be naturalized from *ever* holding any place of trust civil or military in this kingdom. So that, as long as the Act of Settlement and the Act of George I. remain unrepealed, it is impossible, that any foreigner should *legally* hold any office or place of trust, civil or military, in this kingdom; and, of course, no foreigner can legally hold a commission in our army.—But, to a certain extent, the Act of Settlement was repealed; aye, this law, made by our ancestors for the *limiting of the Crown*, and the *better preserving of the rights and liberties of the people*; this act was repealed, to a certain extent, by the Act, brought in by Pitt and passed by the parliament, for the raising and employing of

these very German Corps. That Act, as I showed in my last volume, page 360, allowed of the giving of commissions to *foreign* officers; and *for what?* because they understood the *language and manners* of the men to be raised better than our native officers could be supposed to understand them. This was, in my opinion, a very poor reason; but it was *a reason*. What, then, could be said in answer to Lord Folkestone, when he complained, that foreign Officers had been put into *English regiments*, and had had the command of English districts given to them? Nothing was said in answer to him; or, at least, nothing but bare assertions were made, unsupported by either fact or argument.—Amongst other things, however, which were advanced in answer to his observations upon the danger of employing foreigners in this way, Perceval made the remark contained in my Motto, and insisted, that, as the German Officers had only *temporary* rank, there could be no danger arising from them, even if they were Roman Catholics. He had been touched upon this point. He had been asked what danger there was in the Irish Catholics any more than in his German Catholics, and this was his answer.—But if he were to rise from his grave (*mercy on us!*), what would he say *now*? However, say what he would; equivocate, shuffle, riggle and twist as long as he liked, he could not rub out the last clause of the Act by which these German Corps were tolerated; and, unless he could do that, he could not make it lawful to give the German Officers *permanent rank*, even though they were all *naturalized* first.—The Morning Chronicle says, that this measure, by “one sweep *naturalizes* the “whole German Legion.” This is a mistake. Nothing can naturalize them, or any one of them, but an act of parliament; and, even an act of parliament, if it has naturalized them, cannot give them permanent rank in our army, unless it first *further* repeals the Act of Settlement.—It is true, that the Act of 1804, which authorized the raising of these German Corps, did so far repeal the Act of Settlement as to authorize the King to grant commissions to foreigners *in those corps*; but, it went *no further*; it did not authorize him to grant them commissions in our native corps; it did not authorize him to employ them in any way other than in the way there pointed out; it admitted, for the sake of *language and manners*, that the

officers should be foreigners as well as the men; but here it stopped. It was, however, asserted by Perceval, that it allowed of foreign officers being employed all through the army; though, I believe, that this assertion even, if the occasion had offered, would not have been repeated. —Be this as it may, however, there is one clause in the act, which no one can torture from its meaning, and that clause is complete as to the impossibility of giving *permanent rank* to the German Officers, without the aid of *another Act of Parliament*. That clause provides expressly, that the Corps and the Commissions of the Officers shall *cease in twelve months after the signing of a treaty of peace with France*. At that time, if it ever come, the rank of these men must cease, for *their commissions must cease*. They can only hold commissions in virtue of the Act of 1804; that act says, that it shall itself die in twelve months after the peace; and, of course, in twelve months after the peace, it will be unlawful for any one of these Germans to hold a commission in our army; or any place of trust in this kingdom, civil or military. To give them *permanent rank* is, therefore, impossible without another act of parliament; and, whoever was the adviser of the measure will find, that, clever as he may have thought it, he will have to discover some other measure to supply its place. —The Morning Chronicle says, that, *if parliament had been sitting*, the measure would not have passed without remonstrance. Well, then, we shall now see the part which his friends, the Whigs, will act, when the measure comes to be discussed in parliament; for, discussed it surely will be before a law be passed to allow of these Germans becoming officers of permanent rank in our army. Whether it is meant, that they shall be capable of having commissions in the militia I know not; but, I must suppose that it is, for if there be a regulation permitting officers of the regular army, without any qualification of real property, to go into the militia, the Germans may, of course, come into the militia from the regular army as well as native officers; and thus it is possible for us to see a very pretty concern of it all taken together. —O, yes! The Morning Chronicle need not be uneasy. The question will be discussed in parliament. The subject for anxiety with the Chronicle ought to be: how its friends will behave in the case of such discussion. —I cannot dismiss this article without

observing on the *great importance of the subject*. Let the reader consider, that, if permanent rank were given to these Germans, and if they were to be enabled to pass through the ranks of our army generally, they might hold all the principal commands. They might have all the regiments; they might command in all the counties; they might form *the whole* of the military officers in the kingdom; they might command in the Engineers and Artillery, and might be the governors of all the fortresses and garrisons. —Really it is time that the subject were discussed, and especially as such persons as the editor of the Morning Chronicle seem to think that the measure which has been adopted is decisive, and requires the sanction of no other authority to make it valid. —I shall subjoin to this article, one, with little alteration, that I wrote in March last, in order to show what was the *law* upon the subject. The reader will here find the Act of 1804 entire, and the rest of the law more fully stated. The battle of Salamanca will, in all likelihood, have several *consequences*; but, the reader may be assured that this step with regard to the Germans, if it finally have effect, is the most important of all those consequences. The more it is considered the more its magnitude will become evident. In the mean while, I beg the reader to peruse with care the article which I hereunto subjoin.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 2d September, 1812.

GERMAN TROOPS.

Upon this subject, which I am glad to see has been, at last, noticed in the House of Lords, I left two points untouched in my last Number; namely, the justification built upon *the necessity of the case*; and the justification built on *the Act of Parliament*. —We will take the last of these first, for, if what is done be *lawful*, all that will remain to do will be to show the *necessity of the law*. —First, then, there is a law, which forbids, and that, too, in the clearest and strongest terms, the suffering of any *foreigner* to hold any place of trust, *civil or military*, under the Crown of this kingdom. And, *what law* is this? Why, it is one of the fundamental laws of the realm. It is that very law, by which, and by which alone, the present Royal Family became entitled to reign here, or to have any authority whatever in this country; it is, in

short, that very law by which the Crown of this kingdom was bestowed upon them.

—The occasion was this. JAMES II. had been driven from the throne on account of his tyranny; his son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, who had married his eldest daughter, was invited over to fill his place, and he with his wife Mary were crowned king and queen of England, Ireland, and Scotland, under the title of William and Mary; his queen died, leaving no children; and the Princess ANNE, afterwards QUEEN ANNE (a younger daughter of James II.) having lost her son by death, and there being no likelihood of either her or the king having any more children, it became necessary to provide against the contingency of their deaths. James II. had left a son, who, according to lineal descent, was the undoubted heir to the throne; but, the nation resolved not to have him, and to exclude that branch of the family for ever, notwithstanding its heirship to the throne. They then sought out another branch, who were Protestants, and who they thought would do better than the old branch. — James II. was the son of Charles the first, who was the son of James I. That same James I. had a daughter *Elizabeth*, who became by marriage Queen of Bohemia; this queen of Bohemia had a daughter named *Sophia*, who, by marriage, became *Electress of Hanover*. She, therefore, next after King William, and the Princess Anne, became heiress to the throne, if the son of James II. was set aside, as he at this time was. Now this Sophia, mind, was the mother of GEORGE I. who became Elector of Hanover, and who afterwards became our King. — In the year 1700, called the 12th and 13th year of WILLIAM III. when, as was before observed, there was no longer any prospect of immediate heirs to William himself or the Princess Anne, an Act was passed, to settle the crown, in case of their dying without heirs, on the head of the Princess SOPHIA, the Electress of Hanover, or her heirs. This Act, which for this reason, is generally called the ACT OF SETTLEMENT, is entitled, "*An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the rights and liberty of the subject.*" It was not an Act for merely conferring the Crown; it was not an Act for merely declaring who should be kings and who should not; but, also, for *securing the rights and liberties of the people.* — In this Act, therefore, as a *foreign family* were about to be raised to the throne, and espe-

cially as that family would continue to have *foreign dominions and subjects*, it became necessary to provide, that, after any of that family came to the throne, *no foreigner should have any power of governing in this country*; because, if this provision was not made, it was easy to foresee, that the Hanoverians would soon have a considerable part of the power in their hands, and the people of this kingdom would have the mortification to see themselves domineered over by favourites from the Electorate. — Therefore it was enacted: "That after the said "*Limitation shall take effect as aforesaid*" (that is to say, after the family of Hanover should come to the throne) "*no person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the Dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalized or made a Denizen, except such as are born of English parents) shall be capable to be of the Privy Council, or a member of either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any Office or Place of Trust, either Civil or Military, or to have any grant of Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments from the Crown, to himself or to any other or others in Trust for him.*" — Such was the provision made, in this respect, *for the better securing of the rights and liberties of the subject.* And, very necessary this provision was; for, though the King would, in course of time, as it really happened, be *born in England*, still he would, it was well known, have dominions and subjects in Hanover, and it was not for men who had read human nature to suppose, that he would not have a very great regard for the country of his ancestors, and that he would not have a strong liking for those of his subjects, who, from the very nature of their government, would be much more subservient to his wishes than his English subjects would be. Add to this the inevitable partialities arising from matrimonial connexions, running in the same direction, and you will see how necessary this provision of the Act was, and how necessary it always must have been. — But, whatever was the reason on which it was founded, such was the law. And, now, let us see whether this law has been *changed*, and, if it has, to *what extent.* — We are, at present, speaking of the law only in as far as it relates to the *Foreign Troops*; and, it is evident, that, according to the Act of Settlement, no foreigner can be employed as an officer in the army, that being a place of

military trust, in which the Act so expressly forbids foreigners to be placed. Well, then, has this Act been repealed? No; but, amongst the other good things, which this nation inherits from PITT and his wars against "*republicans and levellers*," is an Act passed in 1804 to indemnify PITT and his associates for having advised the King *to violate the above-mentioned law!* The case was this. Hanover, dear Hanover, had been taken possession of by the French; and, great numbers of the Hanoverian army, who had not defended Hanover against the French, but who had laid down their arms and given up their native country without a blow; great numbers of this army found their way to England, and it was judged by Pitt and his set, that these were very fit persons *to defend England* against those same French; or, at any rate, it was judged proper (for whatever reason) to take these Hanoverians into our PAY! Therefore, the parliament not being assembled at the time, and the affairs of these generous foreigners being very pressing, PITT took them into pay *against law*, gave commissions to Officers, and enlisted men; and, what is more, made no scruple to take Roman Catholic Officers, though it is well known, that our own Roman Catholic countrymen cannot become Officers, nor enjoy any place of military trust.—When the parliament met he came and proposed *a Bill of Indemnity* for what he had done; that is to say, having advised the King to violate the law of the land, he comes and proposes to the parliament *to pass a law to screen him from the punishment due to such a crime*; and, without any hesitation the parliament did it, as they did in the case of the forty thousand pounds, which it was discovered the same Pitt had lent to Boyd and Benfield.—Here, then, the minister got a protection for having advised the violation of this great constitutional Act; but, that was not all; for the same parliament authorized, by the same Act which screened Pitt, the *raising of 10,000 foreign troops*, and the putting of them under the command of *foreign officers*.—Here is the legal origin of the King's German Legion and the other German Corps that we have in our pay, and the Officers of which have had, and yet have, so much authority in this kingdom.—The Act of Settlement is, then, in part done away by this Act of 1804. This we all know; we know, that it is lawful to employ foreigners in places of military trust; but, the difference is this: while I see, and see it with sorrow and shame, that

Germans may now hold places of military trust in this kingdom, I say that it is *not lawful* for them to hold such places in any but in *Corps composed of foreigners*, and that to give them commissions in our own native Corps, or upon the Staff, in this kingdom, *is a violation of law*.—Lord FOLKESTONE and Sir JOHN NEWPORT insisted upon this, in the debate, the remainder of which will be found below. Lord GROSVENOR has since, in the House of Lords, maintained the same, and has said that he is ready so to do against the Lord Chancellor himself.—Lord PALMERSTON, the Secretary at War, and Mr. PERCEVAL, asserted, that the Act of 1804 *authorized* what had been done, namely, *the giving Germans commissions in English regiments and posts upon the Staff*.—Here, then, the parties are at issue; and, in order to enable the public to judge between Lord Folkestone and Mr. Perceval, I shall here insert the whole of the Act of 1804, which was passed on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile!—This Act, as the reader will see, was intended to authorize the King to enlist foreigners and to *form them into Corps*; and, as the preamble expressly states, he was to be authorized to put foreign officers into those corps, because they were *best acquainted with the language and manners of the men*. How, then, in the name of sincerity, can it be said, that this Act justifies the putting of such officers into our *native* corps? Will it be pretended, that they are *best acquainted with the language and manners* of our men too?—But, here is the Act itself, which, as the reader will see, speaks, from one end to the other, of nothing but *Foreign Corps*, and leaves not the smallest room for the interpretation, which would extend it to our native regiments, or to the Staff in this country.

An Act for enabling Subjects of Foreign States to enlist as Soldiers in His Majesty's Service, and for enabling His Majesty to grant Commissions to Subjects of Foreign States to serve as Officers or as Engineers, under certain Restrictions; and to indemnify all Persons who may have advised His Majesty to enlist any such Soldiers, or grant any such Commissions as aforesaid.—Passed July 14, 1804.

'Whereas it hath been deemed expedient by His Majesty, in order to provide in the speediest manner for the better Defence and greater Security of the United Kingdom, in the present important

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‘Juncture of Affairs, to permit certain
 ‘Foreigners, now in *Great Britain*, to inlist
 ‘as Soldiers into His Majesty’s service, and
 ‘for the better disciplining of such Sol-
 ‘diers, **TO FORM THEM INTO REGI-
 ‘MENTS, BATTALIONS, OR CORPS,**
 ‘and to grant Commissions or Letters of
 ‘Service **THEREIN**, to certain Foreign
 ‘Officers acquainted with their **MAN-
 ‘NERS AND LANGUAGE**; and it may
 ‘be expedient, during the Continuance of
 ‘the present War, to augment such Regi-
 ‘ments, Battalions, or Corps, and to
 ‘form other Regiments, Battalions, or
 ‘Corps, and to inlist as Soldiers to serve
 ‘**THEREIN** respectively such other Fo-
 ‘reigners as shall be willing to inlist
 ‘themselves into His Majesty’s Service; and
 ‘also to enable His Majesty to grant Com-
 ‘missions or Letters of Service to Foreign
 ‘Officers **THEREIN**; and it is proper that
 ‘all persons who shall or may have ad-
 ‘vised His Majesty to inlist such Soldiers,
 ‘and to grant such Commissions or Letters
 ‘of Service aforesaid, should be indemni-
 ‘fied; and it is necessary that Quarters
 ‘should be provided for such Regiments,
 ‘Battalions, or Corps, during their conti-
 ‘nuance in any part of the United King-
 ‘dom:’ Be it therefore enacted by the
 King’s most Excellent Majesty, by and
 with the Advice and Consent of the
 Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Com-
 mons, in this present Parliament assem-
 bled, and by the Authority of the same,
 That all such Foreign Soldiers as have
 been already inlisted into His Majesty’s
 service, and formed into Regiments, Bat-
 talions, or Corps, as aforesaid, shall be
 deemed and taken to have been and to be
 legally and effectually inlisted and form-
 ed; and all such Commissions, or Letters
 of Service as have been already granted
 by His Majesty to any Foreign Officers in
 such Regiments, Battalions, or Corps, shall
 be deemed and taken to have been and to
 be legally and effectually granted, and
 shall remain and continue in force in like
 manner in all respects as if such Soldiers
 had been inlisted and formed, and such
 Commissions or Letters of Service had
 been granted, after the passing and under
 the Provisions of this Act; and all and
 every Person or Persons who shall or may
 have advised His Majesty to inlist such
 Soldiers, and to grant such Commissions or
 Letters of Service as aforesaid, shall be,
 and they and he are or is hereby fully and
 effectually indemnified; any Law or Sta-
 tute to the contrary notwithstanding.

II. And be it further enacted, That it
 shall and may be lawful for His Majesty,
 his Heirs and Successors, from Time to
 Time, to augment such Regiments, Batta-
 lions, or Corps, so already formed as afore-
 said, and to form any other Regiments,
 Battalions, or Corps, and to that End to
 inlist as Soldiers to serve in any such Re-
 giments, Battalions, or Corps, any Fo-
 reigners who shall voluntarily enter them-
 selves as Soldiers to serve **THEREIN**:
 Provided always, that there shall not be,
 within any Part of the United Kingdom,
 more in the whole than ten thousand men
 serving in such Regiments, Battalions, or
 Corps, at any one Time.

III. And be it further enacted, That it
 shall be lawful for any such Persons, Sub-
 jects of any Foreign States as shall be
 willing to serve His Majesty, to inlist as
 Soldiers, and to accept Commissions or
 Letters of Service, to serve as Officers or
 Engineers, from His Majesty, his Heirs and
 Successors, or from any Persons duly au-
 thorized by His Majesty to grant such
 Commissions or Letters of Service (which
 Commissions and Letters of Service it shall
 be lawful for His Majesty, or for any Per-
 sons duly authorized in that behalf as afore-
 said, to grant:) Provided always, that no
 such Officer, when he shall be reduced,
 shall be entitled to receive Half-Pay:
 Provided nevertheless, that when any such
 Officer shall be rendered incapable of Mi-
 litary Service by Wounds or Infirmities,
 contracted while he shall be discharging
 his Military Duty during the Period of his
 continuing to serve as such Officer under
 the Provisions of this Act, then and in such
 case it shall be lawful for His Majesty to
 make such Provision for such Officer as he
 shall think proper and necessary, so that
 such Provision shall in no Case exceed the
 Half-Pay of the Rank in the **BRITISH**
 Service, similar to that which such Officer
 shall have held at the Time of his becom-
 ing so incapable as aforesaid: Provided
 also, that no such Person as aforesaid shall
 be liable to any Pain, Penalty, or For-
 feiture whatever, for having accepted any
 such Commission, or inlisted as a Soldier
**IN ANY SUCH REGIMENTS, BAT-
 TALIONS, OR CORPS, AS AFORE-
 SAID**, by reason of his having professed
 the *Popish* Religion, and not having de-
 clared the same at the time of his accept-
 ing such Commission or inlisting.

IV. And be it further enacted, That all
 Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, Drum-
 mers, and Private Soldiers respectively

serving under the Provisions of this Act, shall, whilst in His Majesty's Service as aforesaid, be subject and liable to such Articles of War as His Majesty hath established or may think fit to establish for the better Government of the said Forces, and for bringing Offenders against the same to Justice, and for constituting Courts Martial with Power to try, hear, and determine any Crimes or Offences by such Articles of War, and inflict Penalties, by Sentence or Judgment of the same, and may be billeted and quartered, and be received and provided for in Quarters: Provided always, that no Officer, Non-commissioned Officer, Drummer, or Soldier, shall, by such Articles of War, be subject to any punishment extending to Life or Limb, for any Crime which is not expressed to be so punishable by an Act of this Session of Parliament, intituled, *An Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters*; and for such Crimes as are expressed to be so punishable in the said Act, in any manner or under any regulations which shall not accord with the Provisions of the said Act: Provided also, that every Person who shall be inlisted as a Soldier under the Authority of this Act, shall be attested in such manner as His Majesty shall direct, by such Articles of War and not otherwise; and that such Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, Drummers, and Private Soldiers respectively shall take such oath for their Fidelity, and their Continuance in His Majesty's service, as His Majesty shall in like manner direct, and no other.

V. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That this Act shall continue in Force during the present War, and until one Year after the Termination thereof, by the ratification of a Definitive Treaty of Peace, and no longer.

Such, reader, is the Act of Parliament, which has been interpreted to mean, that *foreign Officers may be put into English regiments*, and that they may also be placed in the command of *the several districts of this kingdom*; in short, it has been interpreted to mean, that the whole of our regular army may be *legally* put under the command of Hanoverians or other foreigners; and that, every part of this kingdom may be *legally* put under the command of the same persons. I say, with Lord Folkestone, that the Act means no such thing; but, if it did, to what a pass are we come? To what a state have these Anti-

Jacobin wars and these Lawyers brought us? If the King, or his ministers, have it in their power to displace all our native Officers, from the Ensign to the General, and to put Hanoverians in their stead; if this Act of Parliament gave them the power to do this, then are we in a state to be envied by no nation upon the face of the earth; then are we in a state to excite the pity, or, rather, the contempt, of all those whom we have affected to despise. For, you will observe, reader, that it is not here a question of *degree*. If they can appoint *one* foreigner to command Englishmen, they can appoint a *thousand*. There is no limit; and, then, again, I say, we are, at last, come to a pretty pass!—Observe, too, that *Roman Catholics* may, if FOREIGNERS, be commissioned according to this act; so that, you see, if Mr. Perceval's interpretation hold good, Roman Catholics may possess *all* the offices in our army; they may command in all our districts; they may enjoy *all* the places of military trust in the kingdom, not excepting the *governorships of the forts and castles*. Yes, if Mr. Perceval's interpretation of the Act be good, *Baron Bock* or *Baron Linsingen* might be appointed Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and I do not know that they might not be appointed Lords Lieutenants of Counties, for that is also a place of military trust. In short, if that interpretation be admitted, the Act of Settlement, as to its most important provision, is no more, and we are exposed to all the dangers that it was intended to prevent.—At the time when this Act was passed, it was strongly protested against by Mr. FRANCIS, Mr. H. HUTCHINSON and Mr. PETER MOORE; but, none of these gentlemen anticipated the use that has since been made of it. Little did they imagine, that it would be made the ground whereon to introduce German Officers into our own regiments and to put German Generals to command English districts. In one stage of the Bill, the Secretary of War said: "that as this was only a measure for providing for a certain number of brave men, who had been forced to leave their own country, he hoped the Bill might proceed in its course." He did not point out the particular instances in which this *bravery* had been displayed, nor did he explain *how* the people had been forced away from their own country; but, at any rate, it was in this *humble tone* that the Hanoverians were introduced. We were then told of their distresses; of

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their forlorn situation; of the cruelties exercised against them by the French. In short, they were held out to us *as objects of compassion*. But, now, faith, we are to listen to accounts of their merits; of their skill; of their valour. We have now to behold them put in high commands; in short, to behold them *commanding English regiments, English generals, and English territory*.—The provision, relative to *Roman Catholics*, has been several times noticed in and out of parliament; but, it has always been said, in answer, that there can be no great danger from this, because confined to a *few foreign Corps*, whereas *our own Roman Catholics*, if they were admitted, would find their way into all the regiments in the service, and might possess many of the great commands on the Staff. What, however, will be said now? Mr. Perceval's interpretation of the act of 1804 allows the King to put Roman Catholics into *all* the Military Commands, provided only that those Roman Catholics be **FOREIGNERS!** This makes the indignity upon our own Catholics ten thousand times greater than it was before. It is well known, that the voluntary services of many of our own Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen have been absolutely refused; and yet, do we see these foreign Catholics admitted, as we are now told they *legally* are, not only into any of our native corps, but to the command of large portions of our army in our own country? If what has been done in this way be *lawful*, if Mr. Perceval's interpretation of the Act of 1804 be allowed to be good, German Catholics may command all the regiments and garrisons and districts in Ireland, while an Irish Catholic can have no such command!—That is quite enough. Not another word need be said upon this part of the subject. The reader will now judge for himself what *law* there is for the employing of these foreigners in English regiments and the staff.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NORTHERN WAR.—*Bulletins of the Grand French Army.*—*First Bulletin, dated at Gumbinnen, June 20, 1812.*

Towards the end of 1810, Russia altered her political system—the English spirit regained its influence—the Ukase respecting Commerce was its first act.—In February, 1811, five divisions of the Russian army quitted the Danube by forced marches,

and proceeded to Poland. By this movement Russia sacrificed Wallachia and Moldavia.—When the Russian armies were united and formed, a Protest against France appeared, which was transmitted to every Cabinet. Russia by that announced, that she felt no wish even to save appearances. All means of conciliation were employed on the part of France—all were ineffectual.—Towards the close of 1811, six months after, it was manifest in France that all this could end only in war. Preparations were made for it. The garrison of Dantzic was increased to 20,000 men. Stores of every description, cannons, muskets, powder, ammunition, pontoons were conveyed to that place; considerable sums of money were placed at the disposal of the department of engineers for the augmentation of its fortifications.—The army was placed on the war establishment. The cavalry, the train of artillery, and the military baggage train, were completed.—In March, 1812, a treaty of alliance was concluded with Austria; the preceding month a treaty had been concluded with Prussia.—In April the first corps of the Grand Army marched for the Oder, the second corps to the Elbe, the third corps to the Lower Oder, the fourth corps set out from Verona, crossed the Tyrol, and proceeded to Silesia. The Guards left Paris.—On the 22d of April, the Emperor of Russia took the command of his army, quitted St. Petersburg, and moved his head-quarters to Wilna.—In the commencement of May the first corps arrived on the Vistula, at Elbing, and Marienburg; the second corps at Marienwerder, the third corps at Thorn, the fourth and sixth corps at Plock, the fifth corps assembled at Warsaw, the eighth corps on the right of Warsaw, and the seventh corps at Pulawy.—The Emperor set out from St. Cloud on the 9th of May; crossed the Rhine on the 13th, the Elbe on the 29th, and the Vistula on the 6th of June.

Second Bulletin of the Grand Army, Wilkowsky.—June 22, 1812.

All means of effecting an understanding between the two empires became impossible. The spirit which reigned in the Russian Cabinet hurried it on to war.—General Narbonne, Aid-de-Camp to the Emperor, was dispatched to Wilna, and could remain there only a few days. By that was gained the proof, that the demand,

equally arrogant and extraordinary, which had been made by Prince Kurakin, and in which he declared, that he would not enter into any explanation before France had evacuated the territory of her own Allies, in order to leave them at the mercy of Russia, was the *sine qua non* of that Cabinet, and it made that a matter of boast to Foreign Powers.—The first corps advanced to the Pregel. The Prince of Eckmuhl had his head-quarters, on the 11th of June, at Königsberg.—The Marshal Duke of Reggio, commanding the second corps, had his head-quarters at Wehlau; the Marshal Duke of Elchingen, commanding the third corps, at Soldass; the Prince Viceroy, at Rastenburg; the King of Westphalia, at Warsaw; the Prince Poniatowski, at Pultusk. The Emperor moved his head-quarters, on the 12th, to Königsberg, on the Pregel; on the 17th to Insterburg; on the 19th to Gumbinnen.—A slight hope of accommodation still remained. The Emperor had given orders to Count Lauriston to wait on the Emperor Alexander, or on his Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to ascertain whether there might not yet be some means of obtaining a reconsideration of the demand of Prince Kurakin, and of reconciling the honour of France, and the interest of her allies, with the opening a negociation.—The same spirit which had previously swayed the Russian Cabinet upon various pretexts, prevented Count Lauriston from accomplishing his mission; and it appeared for the first time, that an Ambassador, under circumstances of so much importance, was unable to obtain an interview, either with the Sovereign or his Minister. The Secretary of Legation, Prevost, brought this intelligence to Gumbinnen; and the Emperor issued orders to march, for the purpose of passing the Niemen. 'The conquered,' observed he, 'assume the tone of conquerors: fate drags them on; let their destinies be fulfilled.' His Majesty caused the following proclamation to be inserted in the Orders of the Army:—SOLDIERS! The second war of Poland has commenced. The first was brought to a close at Friedland and Tilsit. At Tilsit, Russia swore eternal alliance with France, and war with England. She now violates her oaths. She refuses to give any explanation of her strange conduct, until the Eagles of France shall have repassed the Rhine, leaving, by such a movement, our allies at her mercy. Russia is dragged along by a fatality! Her destinies must be accomplished. Should

she, then, consider us degenerate? Are we no longer to be looked upon as the soldiers of Austerlitz? She offers us the alternative of dishonour or war. The choice cannot admit of hesitation. Let us, then, march forward. Let us pass the Niemen. Let us carry the war into her territory. The second war of Poland will be as glorious to the French arms as the first: but the peace which we shall conclude will be its own guarantee, and will put an end to that proud and haughty influence which Russia has for fifty years exercised in the affairs of Europe.

*Third Bulletin of the Grand Army.
Kowno, June 26, 1812.*

On the 23d of June, the King of Naples (Murat) who commands the cavalry, transferred his head-quarters to within two leagues of the Niemen, upon its left bank. This Prince has under his immediate orders the corps of cavalry commanded by Generals Counts Nansouty and Montbrun; the one composed of the divisions under the command of Generals Counts Bruyeres, St. Germain, and Valance; the other consisting of the divisions under the orders of General Baron Vattier and Generals Counts Sebastiani and Defrance.—Marshal Prince d'Eckmuhl, commanding the first corps, moved his head-quarters to the skirts of the great forest of Pilwisky.—The second corps and the Imperial Guards followed the line of march of the first corps.—The third corps took the direction by Marienpol; the Viceroy, with the 4th and 6th corps, which remained in the rear, marched upon Kalwarry.—The King of Westphalia proceeded to Novogrod with the 5th, 7th, and 8th corps.—The first Austrian corps, commanded by the Prince of Schwartzenberg, quitted Lemberg on the —, made a movement on its left, and drew nearer to Lublin.—The pontoon train, under the orders of Gen. Eble, arrived at the advanced posts near Kowno; he took a Polish cloak and cap from one of the light cavalry, and inspected the banks of the Niemen, accompanied by Gen. Haxo, of the engineers alone.—At eight in the evening the army was again in motion. At ten, Count Morand, General of Division, passed over three companies of voltigeurs, and at the same time three bridges were thrown across the Niemen. At eleven, three columns debouched over the three bridges. At a quarter past one, day began to appear. At noon, General Baron Pajol

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drove before him a cloud of Cossacks, and took possession of Kowno with a single battalion.—On the 24th the Emperor proceeded to Kowno.—Marshal the Prince of Eckmuhl pushed forward his headquarters to Roumchicki, and the King of Naples to Eketanoni.—During the whole of the 24th and of the 26th, the army was defiling by the three bridges. In the evening of the 24th, the Emperor caused a new bridge to be thrown over the Vilia opposite Kowno, and directed Marshal the Duke of Reggio to pass it with the second corps. The Polish light horse of the guards crossed the river by swimming. Two men were drowning, when they were picked up by two swimmers of the 26th light infantry. Colonel Guéhèneac having imprudently exposed himself to afford them assistance, had nearly fallen a sacrifice himself; a swimmer of his regiment saved him.—On the 25th, the Duke of Elchingen pushed on to Kormelon: the King of Naples advanced to Jigmuroui. The enemy's light troops were driven in and pursued on every side.—On the 26th, Marshal the Duke of Elchingen arrived at Skoroule. The light divisions of cavalry covered the whole plain to within ten leagues of Wilna.—Marshal the Duke of Tarentum, who commands the 10th corps, composed in part of the Prussians, passed the Niemen on the 24th, at Tilsit, and moved upon Rossiena, in order to clear the right bank of that river, and to protect the navigation.—Marshal the Duke of Belluno, commanding the 9th corps, and having under his orders the divisions Ileudelet, Lagrange, Durette, and Partonneaux, occupies the country between the Elbe and the Oder.—The General of Division, Count Rapp, Governor of Dantzic, has under his orders the division Daendels.—The General of Division, Count Hogendorp, is Governor of Königsberg.—The Emperor of Russia is at Wilna with his guards, and one part of his army occupying Ronikontoni and Newtrooki.

*Fourth Bulletin of the Grand Army.—
Wilna, June 30.*

On the 27th the Emperor arrived at the advanced posts at two in the afternoon, and put the army in motion for the purpose of approaching Wilna, and attacking the Russian army at day-break of the 28th, should it wish to defend Wilna, or retard its capture in order to save the immense magazines which it had there. One Russian division occupied Troki, and another division was

on the heights of Traka.—At day-break of the 28th the King of Naples put himself in motion with the advanced guard, and the light cavalry of General Count Bruyeres. The Marshal Prince of Eckmuhl supported him with his corps. The Russians everywhere retired. After exchanging some cannon-shot, they crossed the Vilia in all haste, burned the wooden bridge of Wilna, and set fire to immense magazines, valued at many millions of rubles: more than 150,000 quintals of flour, an immense supply of forage and of oats, and a great mass of articles of clothing, were burned. A great quantity of arms, in which Russia is in general deficient, and of warlike stores, was destroyed and thrown into the Vilia.

—At mid-day the Emperor entered Wilna. At three o'clock the bridge over the Vilia was re-established. All the carpenters of the city repaired to it with zeal, and constructed a bridge, while the pontoneers at the same time constructed another.—

The division of Bruyeres followed the enemy by the left bank. In a slight affair with their rear, about 80 carriages were taken from the Russians. There were some men killed and wounded; among the latter is the Captain of Hussars, Segur. The Polish light horse of the guard made a charge on the right bank of the Vilia, put to rout, pursued, and made prisoners a good number of Cossacks.—On the 25th, the Duke of Reggio had crossed the Vilia, by a bridge thrown over near Kowno. On the 26th he marched upon Javou, and on the 27th on Chatoui. This movement obliged the Prince of Wittgenstein, Commandant of the first corps of the Russian army, to evacuate all Samogitia, and the country lying between Kowno and the sea, and to retire upon Wilkomir, after obtaining a reinforcement of two regiments of the Guards.

—On the 28th a rencounter took place. The Marshal Duke of Reggio found the enemy drawn up opposite Develtovo. A cannonading commenced; the enemy was driven from one position to another; and passed the bridge with so much precipitation, that he could not set fire to it. He lost 300 prisoners, among whom are several officers, and about 100 killed or wounded. Our loss amounts to about 50 men.

—The Duke of Reggio praises the brigade of light cavalry, commanded by General Baron Castex, and the 11th regiment of light infantry, composed entirely of Frenchmen from the departments beyond the Alps. The young Roman conscripts have shewn a great deal of intrepidity.—The enemy

set fire to his grand magazine at Wilkomir. Up to the last moment the inhabitants were pillaging some barrels of flour; we succeeded in recovering a part of it.—On the 29th the Duke of Elchingen threw a bridge over the Vilia, opposite Souderva. Some columns received a direction of march by the roads of Grodno and Volhynia, for the purpose of coming up with various Russian corps that were cut off and scattered.—Wilna is a city containing from 25 to 30,000 souls, with a great number of convents, fine public buildings, and inhabitants full of patriotism. Four or five hundred young men of the University, above eighteen, and belonging to the best families, have requested to form a regiment.—The enemy is retiring upon the Dwina. A great number of Officers of the Staff and of estafettes are daily falling into our hands. We are obtaining proofs of the exaggeration of all that Russia has published with regard to the immensity of her means. Only two battalions to each regiment are with the army: the third battalions, the statements of the situation of many of which have been found in the intercepted correspondence of the officers of the depots with the regiments, do not amount for the most part to 120 or 200 men.—The Court set off from Wilna 24 hours after being apprized of our passage at Kowno. Samogitia, Lithuania, are almost entirely liberated. The centralization of Bagration towards the North has very much weakened the troops which were to defend Volhynia.—The King of Westphalia, with the corps of Prince Poniatowski, and the 7th and 8th corps, must have entered Grodno on the 29th.—Different columns have set out to fall upon the flanks of the corps of Bagration, which, on the 20th, received orders to proceed by forced marches from Proujanoni towards Wilna, and the head of which had already arrived within four days' march of the latter city; but events have forced it to retreat, and it is now pursued.—Hitherto the campaign has not been sanguinary; there have been only manœuvres: we have made in all 1000 prisoners. But the enemy has already lost the capital and the greater part of the Polish provinces, which are in a state of insurgency. All the magazines of the first, second, and third lines, the result of two years' care, and valued at more than 20 millions of rubles, are consumed by the flames, or fallen into our power. In fine, the head quarters of the French army are in the place where the Court was for six weeks.—Amidst the

great number of intercepted letters, the following are remarkable: the one from the Intendant of the Russian army, who communicates, that Russia having already lost all her magazines of the 1st, the 2d, and 3d lines, is reduced to the situation of forming new ones in all haste; the other from Duke Alexander of Wirtemberg, which shews, that after a campaign of a few days, the provinces of the centre are already declared in a state of war.—In the present situation of things, had the Russian army believed that they had any chance of victory, the defence of Wilna would have been equivalent to a battle; and in all countries, but particularly in that where we now are, the preservation of a triple line of magazines should have determined a General to risk the chances of it.—Manœuvres, then, alone have placed in the power of the French army a considerable portion of the Polish provinces, the capital, and three lines of magazines. The magazines of Wilna were set on fire with so much precipitation, that we have been unable to save a great many things.

Fifth Bulletin of the Grand Army.—Wilna, July 6.

The Russian army was posted and organized in the following manner at the commencement of hostilities:—The first corps, commanded by the Prince Wittgenstein, consisting of the 5th and 14th divisions of infantry, and one division of cavalry, amounting in the whole to 18,000 men, including artillery and sappers, had been a considerable time at Chawli. It had since occupied Rossiena, and was, on the 24th of June, at Reydanoni.—The second corps, commanded by General Baggawont, consisting of the 4th and 17th divisions of infantry, and one division of cavalry, constituting the same force, occupied Kowno.—The third corps, commanded by General Schomoaloff, composed of the 1st division of grenadiers and one division of infantry, and a division of cavalry, amounting to 24,000 men, occupied Nov-Trockl.—The 4th corps, commanded by General Tutschkoff, composed of the 11th and 23d divisions of infantry, and one division of cavalry, in the whole 18,000 men, was stationed on the line from Nov-Trocki to Lida.—The Imperial Guards were at Wilna.—The sixth corps, commanded by General Doctorow, consisting of two divisions of infantry and one of cavalry, amounting to 18,000 men, had formed a

part of the army of Prince Bagration. In the middle of June this corps arrived at Lida from Volhinia, in order to reinforce the first army. It lay at the end of June between Lida and Grodno.—The fifth corps, composed of the second division of grenadiers, of the 12th, 18th, and 26th divisions of infantry, and two divisions of cavalry, was on the 30th at Wolkowisk. Prince Bagration commanded this corps, which might probably amount to 40,000 men.—Lastly, the 9th and 15th divisions of infantry, and a division of cavalry, commanded by General Markow, was at the extremity of Volhinia.—The passage of the Vilia, which took place on the 25th of June, and the movement of the Duke of Reggio upon Janow, and towards Chatoui, obliged the corps of Wittgenstein to proceed towards Wilkomir and on its left; and the corps of Bagawont to make for Dunabourg by Mouchnicki and Gedroitse. These two corps were thus cut off from Wilna.—The third and fourth corps, and Russian Imperial Guards, retired from Wilna upon Nementschin, Swentzianoui, and Vidzoni. The King of Naples pressed them vigorously along both banks of the Vilia. The tenth regiment of Polish hus-sars, which were at the head of the column of the division of Count Sebastiani, came up near Lebowo with a regiment of Cossacks who covered the rear-guard, and charged at full gallop, killed nine, and made about a dozen prisoners. The Polish troops, which up to this moment have engaged in a charge, have shown rare resolution. They are animated by enthusiasm and passion.—On the 3d of July the King of Naples marched upon Swentziani, and there overtook Baron Tully's rear-guard. He gave orders to General Montbrun to charge, but the Russians did not wait the attack, and retired with such precipitation, that a squadron of Huhfians, which was returning from a reconnoissance on the side of Mihailетки, fell in with our posts. It was charged by the 12th Chasseurs, and the whole either taken or slain. Sixty men were taken with their horses. The Poles, who are amongst these prisoners, have applied to serve, and have been taken, full mounted, in the Polish troops.—On the 4th, at day-break, the King of Naples entered Swentziani, the Marshal Duke of Elchingen entered Maliatoni, and Marshal Duke of Reggio, Avanta.—On the 30th of June, Marshal the Duke of Tarentum arrived at Rossiena: he proceeded beyond that to Ponevieji, Chawli, and

Tesch.—The immense magazines which the Russians had in Samogitia have been burned by themselves, which has occasioned an enormous loss, not only to their finances, but still more to the subsistence of the people.—The corps of Doctorow, however, viz. the 6th corps, was still on the 27th of June without any orders, and had made no movement. On the 28th it assembled and put itself in motion, in order to proceed to the Dwina by marching on its flank. On the 30th its advanced guard entered Soleinicki. It was charged by the light cavalry of General Baron Borde Sault, and driven out of the village. Doctorow, perceiving that he was anticipated, turned
(*To be continued.*)

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

(*Continued from page 286.*)

AMERICAN STATES.—Correspondence on the Orders in Council.—Mr. Monroe to Mr. Foster.—Washington, June 4, 1812.

can be of no avail either in the support or violation of maritime rights. This construction is the more justifiable, from the consideration that it is supported by the corresponding acts of the French Government, continued from the time of the repeal, and by communications to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris to the date of that report.—I beg you, Sir, to be assured, that it is painful to me to have imposed the least embarrassment on you, by the correspondence on the difference between the tenor of Lord Castlereagh's letter to you, and your's founded on it to me. I continue to persuade myself, however, that you will become sensible, that with a knowledge of the extent given by your Government to the conditions on which alone its orders will be repealed, and that this extent was always contemplated by your Government, it was impossible for the President to be inattentive to the fact, or to withhold it from the legislative branch of the Government; I have to add, that had it been proper for him so to have done, the late hour at which your note was received, not till the noon of the 1st instant, was not in time to be considered in relation to the Message sent to Congress on that day.—With great respect and consideration, I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES MONROE.

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

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IN order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the **COURIER**:—"The Mutiny amongst the **LOCAL MILITIA**, which broke out at Ely, was *fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the arrival of four squadrons of the **GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY** from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and sentenced to receive 500 lashes each, part of which punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. A stoppage for their knapsacks was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the **Political Register**, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the **Political Register**; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the news-man, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds **TO THE KING**, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and

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two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds **TO THE KING**, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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